

BHARISTAN-1-SHAHI

A Chronicle of Mediaeval Kashmir

K. N. PANDITA

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Mullâ Hasan's negotiations

Yûsuf dethroned

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Muhammad Bhat becomes vain

Fighting breaks out

Abu'l Ma-'âlî captured

TRANSLATION METHODOLOGY

- Since the chronicle was one long narrative, it became necessary to di-I. vide it into chapters. There are eight of them, each dealing with a particular period or a particular ruling house. Care has been taken to ensure that minimum dislocation of events or their overlapping takes 2.
- As stated elsewhere in the introduction, translation of verses has been left out. Likewise superfluous titles and appendages to names, a practice very common to Persian historiographical style, have also been left 3.
- Effort has been made to reproduce the place names as correctly as possible; some deficiencies have still remained. 4.
- Transliteration of Persian/Arabic/Sanskrit words, names, phrases etc. has been done in accordance with the accepted system. (See the key to transliteration). Diacritical marks have been used wherever necessary. 5.
- Explanatory comments wherever necessary have been put in round parenthesis, but whatever was felt necessary to clear the textual ambi-6.
- Blanks and erasions in the MS have been shown by the sign... in the English translation. Illegible words have also been indicated likewise 7.
- Conversion of Hijra years into Christian years has been done on the basis of the Lunar year system of the Muslim calendar and not the Solar year system of the Iranians. 8.
- Qur'anic verses, which figure in the chronicle, have been rendered into
- Folio numbers of the MS and their corresponding printed pages have

ABBREVATIONS

Râjat Râjataranginî, tr. M A Stein, 2 vols. London, 1900.

Jonar Râjataranginî of Jonarâja, ed. Srikanth Koul,

THK. Târikh-i-Hasan Khuihâmi, Pîr Ghulâm Hasan, Vol. II, RPD,

Srinagar 1954.

TMH Târikh-i-Malik Haidar, Malik Haidar Chadora, MSRPD. Acc.

No. 39.

TNK. Târikh-i-Nârâyan Koul 'Âjiz, MS. RPD. Acc. No.934.

Tohfat. Tohfatu'l-Ahbâb, Anonymous, transcript copy RPD Acc. No.

I I 55.

Illeg.
MS

Illegible text

Manuscript Manuscript

St. Stanza

Omission in the text

... Sentence incomplete

(tr) Translation Trans. Transcript

*Note: RPD stands for Research and Publication Department, J&K State Government, Srinagar.

Arabic/Persian	Latin
ت ث	t
	th
€	Ch
を さ さ	h
خ	kh
i	Kn
w	Z
س ش ب ب ب ب ب ب	S
	sh
ص .	z
<u></u> ض	
ط	ģ
4	t
ع	Z
غ	
٥	gh
Ö	h
	q

FOREWORD

There is considerable evidence available that indicates the onset of stagnation and consequent degeneration of Kashmir society by the beginning of the tenth century (A.D.). It was becoming more and more difficult to throw up and sustain a strong central authority for the whole of Kashmir Valley. This led to a long period of intensive wars among Damaras and the contemporary central authority.

Professor D. D. Kosambi, using a scientific methodology for his investigations, has been able to provide us profound insights in the appearance of this phenomenon. We quote: "The need to import trade goods, particularly salt and metal, difficult transport, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements due to extensive water-works, meant concentration of wealth in a few hands for each small group of villages (emphasis added). A Kashmiri village could not be as nearly self-sufficient as one in India for the rigours and more varied climate made it impossible to do without wool, which had to be produced for exchange against cereals as a commodity....In Kashmir the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms, and turned into a Damara....The conflict between King and Damara, feudal baron and central power, led ultimately to a Kashmirian Hindu king plundering temple property and melting down the images for profit, without change of religion or theological excuses, simply to maintain the army and a costly state apparatus. Because this could not continue forever, we have the ultimate victory of feudalism, and weakening of the central power....To pay for its essential import (salt and metal) Kashmir had an ideal commodity in 'saffron' (Crocus Sativas), relatively higher priced, but still in great demand, and easy to transport over a mountain to a large market, and without serious competition.......Without the Crocus or some equivalent commodity, the internal history of Kashmir would have been far less turbulent." (The Sardhasatabdhi Commemoration Volume, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1957, pp. 108-120).

The above analysis refers to a much earlier period than the one dealt with in detail in *Bahâristân-î-Shâhî*. Nevertheless some useful clues may be found here to the otherwise seemingly senseless quarrels and conflicts of this period, prior to the Mughal takeover in A.D. I587.

Disintegration of Kashmir society gathered momentum from the 10th century onwards, through endless conflicts between Damaras and contemporary kings. It was during this period that the new liberating ideas of Islam, and some of its adherents slowly began to penetrate the Valley, and later culminated in the deposition of Kota Rani by Shah Mir in A.D. 1339, ushering in a new epoch in Kashmir history.

In the initial period there was hardly any resistance to the conversions, and little social or cultural strife among the people. There was peaceful existence between the traditional believers and the new converts. Lal Ded symbolizes this period.

One of the beneficial consequences of the spread of the new faith was greater movement and activity on the trade routes to the Western and Central Asia. In particular contact with Persian civilization became quite close, and linguistic barriers were crossed on a broad front. Alongside, favourable opportunities were created now for enterprising and ambitious noblemen and other strong social base for their power and wealth.

All these vital processes have now to be sorted out and critically examined by our new generation of the intelligentsia in the spirit of modern historiography. Meanwhile all the available documents that have escaped destruction, to be critically examined by our new generation of historians. This may be our dreams.

There is no doubt that Bahâristân-î-Shâhî is a valuable historic document which deserves to be widely known, and studied for the first-hand evidence provided by some influential courtier of Yusuf Shah Chak, overthrown and imprisoned by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in A.D. I587. The anonymous

FOREWORD

writer appears to have worked on his theme largely during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

The late Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah frequently asserted that he was the first Kashmiri after Yusuf Shah Chak to go about with his head erect. That underlines the importance of this monarch and his times in the consciousness of many people in the Valley, who still bewail in folk songs his fate after his capture by the Mughals.

Dr. Kashinath Pandit has done his labour of love by working on the original Persian manuscripts, and has produced a faithful English version of the same, so as to make the contents available to a wider audience. He is singularly qualified for this major task. Coming from a Baramulla family with a long tradition of Persian scholarship spread over several generations he got a Master's degree in Persian from the Panjab University, with distinction. At the age of thirty-two he joined the University of Teheran (Iran) for a doctorate in Iranian, and spent three years there. He has produced a biography of Hafiz of Shiraz.

Dr. Pandit has travelled widely in Central Asia, and is well known to the scholars in the Tajik Academy particularly. The diversity and depth of his knowledge of the region is of timely importance to us in the Valley in the context of recent developments. There is no doubt about his present work being an important contribution towards the understanding of our past.

N.N. Raina

June 25, 1989 125 Narsingh Garh, Srinagar, Kashmir.

INTRODUCTION

Kashmir may rightfully boast of a long tradition of producing histories and historical works of considerable value. No fewer than a dozen histories referred to by Kalhana which, besides other materials, served him as sources for his celebrated chronicle Râjataranginî written in Lâukika 4225 corresponding to A.D. II49/50. Kalhana's impact on the historians and chroniclers who followed him is evident in at least the works of four of them who endeavored to carry on the tradition of recording the events to the rulers of their time: Jonarâja, Srivara, Prâjyabhata and Suka. While the work of Prâjyabhata is lost to us, the history of Suka takes us to the time of the second tenure of Sultan Fath Shâh in A.D.1538. The historical accounts of these four Sanskrit historians are relatively brief; they make only veiled references to events which deserved to be treated in greater detail. But they wrote under several constraints, and that perhaps explains why their perception and presentation of events did not match that of Kalhana's. It is also likely that what has survived the ravages of time is only a fragment of what they had written. Nevertheless, these accounts are valuable to us; at least we have something to fall back upon.

The tradition solidly established by Kalhana, which was marked by objectivity in approach and treatment, was followed by many later historians of Kashmir. From the time of the advent of Islam in Kashmir (placed by some historians somewhere in the last decade of the thirteenth century, though the presence of the people of Islamic faith in Kashmir had been reported by Kalhana in as early as the eighth century)¹ to the reign of Mahârâja Pratâp Singh the third Dogra ruler (d. A.D. 1925), many histories of Kashmir were produced in Persian. After the expansion of Islam in Iran and Central Asia, the art of recording the events and affairs of rulers and their subjects developed in a manner in conformity with the Islamic traditions. When the conversion process in Kashmir reached its culmination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the social and political turbulence died down, the resultant peaceful order stimulated hitherto suspended intellectual and artistic activity. For more

Râjataranginî, Bk. iv. St. 397.

than a century after the founding of Muslim rule in Kashmir, Sanskrit continued to be used officially alongside Persian, though it was evident that soon the latter would replace the former both as official language and the language of the elite. No wonder, therefore, that a patron of learning like Sultân Zainu'ling a bureau of preserving the rich cultural heritage of Kashmir by starting a bureau of translation for translating Sanskrit works into Persian. Kalhana's Râjatarangnî was translated during this very time. Unfortunately, much of the material produced during this time has been lost. Persian historiography had a science of writing histories also absorbed the tradition which had already been established.

One cannot compute exactly the number of histories of Kashmir which have been written in Persian from early times to the present day. However, a record of extant Persian histories preserved in the Research and Publication Works in manuscript form. The earliest among these is Târîkh-i-Kashmir written by Sayyid 'Alî b. Sayyid Muhammad in A.D. 1579, and the most recent is these, there are several other works in the form of diaries, travelogues, and cluded in the list of histories.

Of the seventeen histories of Kashmir, already known to scholars, only two have been printed so far: Wâqa'ât-i-kashmir by Muhammad Azam Dedamari and the two volumes of Târîkh-i-Kashmir by Pîr Ghulâm Hasan Khuihâmî. The unedited text of Bahâristân-i-Shâhî was also published a few now deceased patron and benefactor. Gulâb Nâma by Dîwân Kripâ Râm has of the founder of the Dogra dynasty of the rulers of Jammu & Kashmir, than work of history.

In the absence of competent and annotated English translations of these Persian histories of Kashmir, the non-Persian knowing scholars are severally handicapped. But the task of editing, translating and publishing these manuscripts is not an easy one; it calls for a high standard of scholarship, dedication and institutional and organizational support. That these valuable histories are

languishing in dust is a sad commentary on the state of scholarly research in these areas. Unless government bodies and universities take initiative in providing the right kind of incentives to competent scholars, these manuscripts cannot reach scholars in the field. It needs to be mentioned here that high level scholarship in classical languages is becoming rare in our country.

By and large, the historians of Kashmir writing in Persian language followed the pattern—format, style, theme etc.—of Iranian historians though the canvas of the former is limited. When they accepted the Persian/Tajik model of historiography, they accepted both its good and bad qualities. It appears that many Persian historians of Kashmir had perused the historical works of outstanding Iranian or Central Asian historians and they had familiarized themselves with their technical language, style and method to a considerable extent. They had also acquainted themselves with the variety of themes which the Iranian, Central Asian or Indian historians treated in the course of their recordings.

Histories of Kashmir in Persian language which I had the opportunity of examining during the course of my research, invariably follow the traditional pattern of Persian histories which had been produced in Iran, Transoxiana (Mâ'warâ-an-Nahr), Afghanistan and India. They begin with an elaborate doxology, followed by praises and eulogies for the Holy Prophet, the Imams, and the ruling house or the king or the patron at whose instance the work was undertaken or to whom it was dedicated. However, the Persian histories produced in Kashmir deviate in some respects from the traditional norm. In the East, particularly in Iran, a historian wrote at the behest of a ruler, a minister or a powerful courtier or a feudal lord. In a few cases the historian would himself be a minister or an influential person close to the ruling circles and the corridors of power, and wrote mainly to please his patron than out of his intellectual curiosity. Martin's perceptive comment on Timurid art explains it clearly: "All art, in the Orient is court art, or is dependent on Maecenas. It was so, in the 'Abbasid Court at Baghdad in the ninth century, it was so in Egypt and Spain; it was so everywhere. This fact must be remembered, as it explains much that would otherwise be incomprehensible."2

^{2.} The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, Quartich, 1912, vol, I, pp. 35-6.

Most of the historians of Kashmir who wrote in Persian had very thin or no connection with the court or the ruling house, and never held any important official positions. This accounts for the presence of very few distortions or misrepresentations in their expositions, and gives their work a degree of cause of the angularities of their character or because these may have is beyond their control. This bias is, therefore, neither pronounced nor offensive. But because they were not associated with the court or royalty, put them to a disadvantage: they had no access to original and living sources of information.

Generally mediaeval Persian historiography in or outside Iran suffered from one particular drawback. To show off his command over the language, a devote more attention to rhetorical embellishment than to objective analysis plains why many historical works were used as textbooks of highly ornate lum of madrasah (colleges) in Iran and elsewhere as an independent subject of producing histories. This lessened the value of many of these works. The historians' tendency to use an ornate style was probably because they wrote only Once arts and sciences came out of the close confines of courts and elitist old ornate style and wrote with a greater degree of objectivity and factual

Keeping this in view, it is gratifying to note that histories produced in Persian language in Kashmir are very readable narratives composed usually in a simple and clear style. This is mostly because they were generally unconnected Persian was not their mother tongue. It had been brought here from Iran and the ruling power passed on to the Muslims, Persian became the court and official language in due course of time. Anybody using it had to be clear and thing with the king or his court, the histories produced by Kashmiris were put

in the category of non-official and popular histories. The historians did not need to vie with one another to strive for linguistic embellishments. This makes it easier to render them into readable English than the histories produced in Iran or Transoxiana in mediaeval times.

Having noted the general features of Persian histories produced in Kashmir in mediaeval and early modern times, it has to be admitted that these histories do have some limitations which they share with the histories produced in Iran and elsewhere in the Persian/Tajik speaking regions. First, there is a pronounced streak of exaggeration in them; no matter whether they are praising or censuring. Second, they lack systematic distribution of themes into separate parts or through what we now call chapterization. Besides, there are sudden shifts from one theme to another; the reader is not sufficiently prepared for a new course of events. Hence any attempt on the part of an editor or a translator at distributing the narrative into chapters and assigning them headings has to be an arbitrary one. Finally, besides frequent repetitions, their narrative continuity is often disrupted by uncalled-for interpolations.

In the choice of their subject-matter, Persian histories of Kashmir suffer from several other deficiencies. They deal with subjects like court intrigues, political and personal rivalries among nobles and chieftains, tales of extraordinary heroism, hunting expeditions and pleasure trips, harem squabbles and such other trivial matters. The treatment is generally exaggerated. Vital matters of social importance are ignored or underestimated. Common people hardly figure in their account of the affairs of the state. Even after going through long chunks of such histories one cannot frame even a hazy idea of the kind of society that existed at a given point of time. As against this, court intrigues, in-fightings, petty skirmishes, and supernatural powers of the saints receive more than due attention. When not engaged with these things, the historian writes copiously about mystics, spiritualists, mendicants, especially about their seemingly miraculous powers. He has very little or almost nothing to say about the vast agrarian and artisan sections of society; their economic and social activities; their relations with the ruling class; taxes, revenue and fiscal matters; arts and crafts; status of women, folk-lore and local traditions; interaction between various sections and classes of society engaged in productive activity, military and administrative set-up and a multitude of other related themes. He does not identify himself with the social milieu of his times.

But notwithstanding all that is said, it will be unjustifiable to censure these historians for the deficiencies enumerated above, because socially-oriented history is a recent development, at least in our part of the continent. Though this approach to history gained popularity in the West from the time of the Renaissance, the East lingered on for many more centuries with her ages-old tradition till the era when imperialism and its agencies received a setback in Asia and elsewhere outside Europe. In such a situation, the burden of scanning impartially the material available to them, investigating it and drawing conclusions in a manner that society and its variegated aspects are brought under focus has to fall on the present-day historians. And the task calls for extraordinary care and responsibility.

The most crucial period of the mediaeval history of Kashmir is from the time of the downfall of the Hindu rule upto the beginning of Shâhmîrî rule. Surprisingly, Persian historians have virtually neglected this period of far-reaching consequences. It has led to the exacerbation of controversies based on wild speculations. They have become so firmly entrenched that it seems difficult to rectify them. The process of early Islamization of Kashmir is a complex one because, unlike Iran or Transoxiana, there was no outright invasion of Kashmir by Islamic warriors; no Arab legions marched into Kashmir with their swift horses and slender swords. It was a curious process interspersed with many ugly happenings which are mentioned in the pages of this work. But the initial non-violent character of the event makes it into quite a fascinating development. The story of conversion of hundreds of thousands of people to Islam over a long stretch of time has not been told in a manner in which it should have been. No historian, for example, has tried to go deep into the socioeconomic and socio-political causes of the phenomenon. This lacuna in the mediaeval histories of Kashmir is difficult to explain.

Bahâristân-i-Shâhî

Historians have mentioned some historical works which were produced in Kashmir before Bahâristân-i-Shâhî was written, but these are lost. Three histories are invariably mentioned in this connection: those of Mullâ Nâderi, Qâzi Ibrâhim and Mullâ Hasan Qâri. În their absence, Bahâristân-i-Shâhî enjoys the status of being the first fully detailed history of Kashmir written anonymously in A.D. 1614. (The forty-eight folio MS history written by Sayyid

'Alî is mainly an account of the saints, particularly of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadâni).

Of the two extant manuscript copies of *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî*, one is in the British Museum (Add. 16, 706) and the other is in the India Office (I.O.509). An abridged MS copy is in Bankipore Library.

When compared with the India Office copy, the one preserved in the British Museum has some ommissions, erasions and over-writings. Many placenames are illegible or carelessly written. In a few instances, the corresponding dates in Laukika calendar are missing. On these counts, the India Office copy has been considered more dependable, though, in both the cases, the date of transcription or the name of the copyist has not been recorded. Not ignoring the importance of the manuscript copy in the British Museum, a genuine text was established after careful collation of the two MSS, and the translation is of the collated version. In doing so many ambiguities have been removed and ommissions reconstructed. However, a few though minor discrepancies could not be resolved and these have been indicated in the English version.

The India Office manuscript copy carries the date of compilation of the chronicle in its colophon in the shape of a chronogram, viz. Nâmeh-e-Shâhâni-Kashmir. it is A.H. 1023 corresponding to A.D. 1614. The chronogram is actually the concluding verse of a short mathnavi (a long poem) appended to the text. This is somewhat curious because such appendages are generally found in collections (jung) and not in exclusive works of history. Moreover, the mathnavi in question is of a different theme—being didactic in nature—bearing no relation whatsoever to the theme of the chronicle. The MS does not bear either the date of its transcription or the name of its author scribe and the place of writing. It cannot be decisively established as to when the author began writing the chronicle; one or two clues however do suggest that the entire work was completed in not less than two decades. It seems that there are big time-gaps in the course of writing the chronicle, for the author refers to Kashmir sometimes as 'this country' and at other times as 'that country'. This also proves that while writing it the author was sometimes in Kashmir and sometimes outside Kashmir.

The clues suggesting more than two decades as the period over which the chronicle was written are: On folio I2^b of the MS, the author writes that 270 years have elapsed since the ravages of Zulchu took place. The incursion of

Zulchu, as per the author's statement (fol. II^a/p. I7) took place in A.H. 727/ A.D I323. As such he had been writing about this particular event in A.H. 997 corresponding to A.D. I593. This was the time when Kashmir had passed under the control of the Mughals for over six years. The chronicle was brought to its completion twenty-one years later. In other words, we can say that it took the author no fewer than twenty-one years to complete it, presuming that he had begun it in A.H. 997/A.D. I 593. The presumption is based on the fact that Zulchu's incursion into Kashmir being an event of early history of Kashmir, the chronicler had to write twelve folios to arrive at the description of this

The MS fills 212 folios of $8^5/8"\times 5"$ size written in fairly legible nasta'lîq hand. A few omissions, errors and erasions which have crept into the text, advertantly or inadvertently, have been set right as far as possible after collating with the Br. Museum copy. Whatever discrepancies are left do not seriously obstruct the continuity of the text or impair its readability. Some orthographic peculiarities of the MS are:

- (a)Letter نس is invariably accompanied by three dots at its bottom
- (b)Letter invariably carries only one horizontal stroke instead of two (c)Letter (vâ-e-majhûl) has not been used which contrasts with the Practice followed in many Persian histories produced in India.
 - (d)Letter 3 is invariably accompanied by two dots at its bottom.
- (e)Hamza (=) is generally represented by two dots at the bottom of ya. (f)When a word ending with letter alif is required to be compounded with the following word, its sign of hamza is replaced by ya

Such orthographic peculiarities are generally found in Parsian-Tajik manuscripts of Transoxiana produced during the mediaeval period. For example, a manuscript history entitled Mehmân Nâmeh-e-Bukhârâ, of Fadlu'llah Rozbehân Khunji completed in A.D. I509 in Heart bears a marked resemblance to the work in question in its orthographic peculiarities. It suggests that the style of writing, calligraphy and also the general pattern of Persian works of history in those days were largely influenced by the Turanian style,

In one particular formal aspect, the India Office MS is different from

general Persian historical writings. A common pattern of Persian-Tajik and Arabic works is that the author begins with the opening sentence of the Islamic prayer, viz, bismillah ar-rahmân ar-rahîm, followed by one or two paragraphs in doxology, praises to the Holy Prophet, the Imams, and lastly to the ruler or the patron as the case may be. But in the case of Bahâristân-i-Shâhi, except for the opening sentence of the Islamic prayer, all other doxological features are conspicuously absent. The book begins directly with the mythical story of the beginning of Kashmir. If we presume that its author was of the Shia 'faith and that he wrote at a time when factional feuds were recurrent, we can understand his doing away with the recognized practice of writing prefatory material to works of history.

The MS is frequently interspersed with verses which occasionally fill a folio or two. Their theme is generally related to the context. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these verses have been borrowed from some versified history of Kashmir or not, although there are a few positive clues to suggest such a possibility. If the author really made use of one, it could either be the now lost work of Mulla Nâderî, which is mentioned in several Persian histories of Kashmir, or that of Sayyid Qâsim, which is mentioned cursorily on folio 42b/p.60 of the text, presuming that the reference is not to Abu'l-Qâsim b. Hindushah Firishta. The rhyme and meter of these verses correspond to the one we find in the Shahnama of Ferdowsi. It is important to bear in mind that the Shahnama had set the trend for future poet-historians in the choice of meter for recording popular events and legends of heroism and valour. Shahnama, the great epic, had been popular with the men of letters in Kashmir as early as the fifteenth century. Jonarâja tells us that "Bhattâvtara, who had perused Shahnama composed a work named Jainavilass as the counterpart of the king's (Zainu'l'Âbidîn) instructions".3

While rendering *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî* into English, the Persian verses which frequently figure in the text have been left out. This is not because the verses do not deserve to be translated, but because it would have proved a source of distraction to the reader.

Sources

There is no specific mention in the text of the chronicle about the sources

^{3.} The Râjatarangin of Jonarâja, (tr.) Dutt. J.C., Delhi, 1986, p. 13.

of Mirza Haidar Dughlat; the year recorded is 16 which corresponds to A.H. 947/A.D. 1540.

Apart from the translations of the chronicles of Jonarâja, Srivara and others, and presuming that these works had been translated into Persian, some more histories in Persian verse or prose had been produced by the time the author of *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî* appeared on the scene. These could also have carried the accounts of Hindu rulers of Kashmir used by the author. But the loss of Persian translation of Sanskrit histories of Kashmir from Kalhana to Suka (presuming the translations had been made) has made any verdict on the sources of the history of Hindu period in *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî* a matter of conjecture. For writing his account, the author seems to have used some distorted and frightfully defective Persian rendering of *Râjataranginî*. His casual attitude towards this period is indicated by the fact that only eleven out of a total of 212 folios of the MS are devoted to it. It seems that the author wrote about it as a routine formality.

As far as the account of the Sultâns of Kashmir is concerned, the following Persian histories produced until the writing of *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî* in A.D. I6I4, come to our notice:

- I. Târîkh-i-Kashmir, Sayyid 'Alî, A.D.1579.
- 2. Târîkh-i-Kashmir, Mulla Husain Nâderi, A.D. 1580.
- 3. Tâdkiratu'l-Ârifin, Mulla 'Ali Raina, A.D. 1587.
- 4. Târikh-i-Kashmir, being the translation of Jonarâja's history. A.D. I 590, Munich MS. Its author is unknown and the work covers I 3I years of history given by Jonarâja.
 - 5. Tabaqât-i-Akbari, Nizâmu'd-Din Tarawi, A.D. 1592.
 - 6. Târikh-i-Rashîdî, Mîrza Haidar Dughlat.
 - 7. Bâbur Nama, Zahiru'd-Din Bâbur.
 - 8. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

No doubt these historical works were produced either before *Bahâristân-i-Shâhî* was written or were produced simultaneously, but it is difficult to say which of these histories the author used as his sources; he does not make any specific reference to any work or works.

From the concluding portions of the chronicle, one gathers the impres-

sion that the author had been an eye-witness to some happenings of those times. It could also be said that he had access to important personalities. That is why he gives some minute details of events in this part of the work. However, in the absence of an authentic biography of the author, who is not even identified, it would not be safe to link him with either the court of the Chaks or the powerful house of the Sayyids of Baihaq, whom he praises in extravagant terms for their bravery and statecraft. That the author preferred to remain anonymous is also significant. Some scholars have tried to lift the veil of anonymity from his name, but such efforts could be only conjectural and had

We may now try to analyse the clues available in the chronicle to the possible sources used by the author. This will help in evaluating the authenticity of the work in its totality, and also serve as an incentive to further research

- Commenting on the ravages of Zulchu (c. A.D. 1323), the author writes (fol.II^a/p.I7) that the chroniclers of the events of Kashmir have not recorded an event more disastrous and catastrophic than that of Zulchu's incursion into Kashmir. This is a very faithful reproduction of Jonarâja's comment on the event. This confirms that the Persian version of Jonarâja's Râjataranginî was used by the author.
- Describing the military exploits of Sultân Shihâbu'd-Din, (fol.21'/ p.32), the author writes that details pertaining to the Sultân's military (blank) written in Kashmiri. The author also writes that if the stories and anecdotes of Sultân Shihâbu'd-Din's remarkable bravery are fully described (as had been available to him), people would think them a result of his poetical exaggeration and as such would be taken as false....... This is exactly what Jonarâja has said about the Sultân. Furthermore, the expression "chronicles of mighty monarchs and events of kings of Kashmir" with which the text of Bahâristân-i-Shâhî begins is perhaps the expanded Persian rendering of the Sanskrit term Râjataranginî. Not mentioning the name of the author or the title of

Jonarâja, ed. Srikanth Koul, Hoshiarpur, 1967, p. 165. See The Râjataranginî of Jonarâja, (tr.) J.C. Now Delhi, 1986, p. 40.

- the 'Kashmiri history' (*ba qalam-i-Kashmiri*) in the text (fol. 20^a/p. 31) appears to be a deliberate act, and not an inadvertent omission. Perhaps the author did not want to acknowledge the debt he owed to Jonarâja.
- 3. On fol. 29^a/p. 40, the author refers to a panegyric composed by Sayyid Mahmûd Baihaqi in praise of Sultân Ghiathu'd-Dîn of Dehli and says that "for fear of its length, historians have recorded only the following verses". Then follow the verses. This indicates that the author knew some Persian historical works of India which dealt with the period he was writing about.
- 4. On fol. 42^b/p. 60, the author quotes one Sayyid Qâsim describing the numerical strength of Mîr Sayyid Nâsir Baihaqi's troops in readiness against the troops of the Râjâ of Jasrot (or Râjâ Jasrath). The event pertains to the days of Sultan Zainu'l-'Âbidîn's accession to the throne in A.D. 1422. Who this Sayyid Qâsim was and what exactly he wrote is not known. One possible guess could be that he is Qâsim b. Hindushâh, commonly known as Firishta.
- 5. On fol. 62^b/p. 78, the author describes the conspiracy hatched by Kashmiri dissidents to assassinate Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi and writes, "It has been written in Kashmiri......" This indicates that a history of Kashmir of that period written in Sanskrit did exist and was made use of by the author either in its Persian translation or through the assistance of an interpreter. If we accept that the Persian version of a Sanskrit history did exist at this point of time, then it has to be that by Srivara. His chronicle mentions clearly the dream of Mîr Sayyid Hasan regarding his impending killing next morning. The dream is described in its entirely by our chronicler on folio 62^b/p.78.
- 6. On fol. 75^a/p. 90, there is a description of the fierce fighting which broke out between the troops of Fath Shâh and Muhammad Shâh and the mishap of Mir Sayyid Muhammad's horse falling into a ditch on the battlefield. The chronicler says that the event is well known in Kashmiri history. This too confirms that Srivara's history served as a source for this portion of the chronicle.
- 7. On fol. 145 ^a/p. 193, while describing a confrontation between Yusuf Shâh Chak and Sayyid Mubârak Khân, the author notes, "..... histo-

- rians have given an account of this battle in prose as well as in verse". This suggests the existence of some history or histories in Persian/ Sanskrit written both in verse and in prose. The statement is followed by verses filling one whole folio of the MS. It is likely that these verses have been borrowed directly from some versified history in Persian/
- 8. The first mention of the Islamic calendar in the chronicle has been made to record the year of Laxman Dev's death, viz. A.H. 531/A.D. 1136 (fol. 8 b/p.8). Thereafter, the Muslim calendar has been used along with the Laukika calendar of the Kashmiris which has been introduced for the first time to denote the year A.H. 878/A.D. 1473 (Laukika 46 Vivat 12). This too suggests the existence of Sanskrit / Persian histories of Kashmir during the period under our consider-
- 9. On fol. 10 b/p. 16, the author writes that he confirmed the name (of Zulchu) as Zulâji from Mîrzâ Haidar. This indicates that Mirza Haidar Dughlat's history Târîkh-i-Rashîdî also served him as a source for his Evaluation

Bahâristân-i-Shâhî is essentially an account of the political events of Kashmir in mediaeval times, especially from the time of the incursion of Zulchu into Kashmir in A.H. 727/A.D. I323 to A.H. I023/A.D. I614, the year when Sayyid Abu'l-Ma 'âlî, the second son of Sayyid Mubârak, and the last of Yûsuf Shâh Chak's closest associates, proceeded to Thatta in Sindh to assume charge of his jâgir, conferred upon him by Jahangir Padishah. The Hindu per while dealing with at 1 While dealing with the later period, the narrative acquires breadth and depth, especially from the death of 'Alî Shâh in A.H. 986/A.D. I578. Some portions of the history, mostly the latter ones, were probably written by the author at a place outside Kashmir because, while referring to Kashmir, he says 'that country' whereas in the earlier portions he calls it 'this country'.

The narrative does not deal only with the rulers of Shâh-mîrî and Chak dynasties, but also treats of the story of the Baihaqi Sayyids whose ancestor, Mir Sayyid Mahmûd, had been defeated by Timur and had fled to Delhi along with his followers during the reign of Sultân Ghiâthu'd-Dîn. The Sultân of